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857 Here, as among adults, one finds that skills may be
[867] weighed on the side of one sex or the other, but unskillful imitations are not frowned upon or subjected to ill-natured ridicule. For instance, I have seen women laughingly play at beating gongs or shooting ar-
[522] rows, while men will playfully attempt to weave baskets or pound grain. In the same way little girls will try their hands at top-spinning and boys at cat's cradle.

The care of infants is a responsibility in which boys and girls, like men and women, are inclined to share equally. Children of both sexes may at times resent this task, as reference to the autobiographies will show. The following notes illustrate nicely the sort of scene that forcing such duties on a child may produce.

861 Early one morning three little boys about twelve years old were
857 gaily playing marbles on the dance place when Kolang appeared carrying her three-month-old infant. She approached her son, one of the three, and tried to strike him with the side of her clenched fist, as she scolded him for running off without the baby. At first the boy laughed and dodged. Finally, the mother got close enough for two or three blows, all rather light, and then she seized his ears and twisted them until the boy wailed. The mother stood by, still scolding him, but more gently now, and trying to hang the shawl with the baby in it over his shoulder. Some women who were waiting to go to the fields with Kolang joined in berating the boy for his unwillingness to care for his baby brother. Finally the mother picked up a stick and dealt the blubbering boy a soft blow. He then capitulated and swung the carrying shawl over his shoulder. During this episode, his two playmates had gone on playing marbles, paying no attention to the fuss. As soon as the women left, however, the three boys abandoned their game and set off on their daily aimless wandering about the village, the one burdened with his infant sibling.

857 Although boys quite patently have fewer duties than do girls, they have at the same time more privileges. For instance, at one of the young-corn feasts held in February, boys are the main actors and race through the village symbolically driving out all the rats for the coming year, while women and girls stay tightly shut in the houses. During the communal pig hunt at the end of the dry season, boys may accompany the men to serve as fags, while women and girls are forbidden to approach the hunting camp. At all feasts not only do boys help in the butchering but they are the ones primarily relied upon to play the gongs. No linkage between privileges and duties is established in childhood.

In their play children actually imitate many adult activities. After a burial I have seen children playing death feasts for four or five days in

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only by biologic parents. Theory does not deflect from the parents to designated relatives any portion of the right to punish; there are no avunculate or amitate relationships. In practice, however, theory is ignored. True siblings and parents' siblings are almost as free as parents themselves in rapping children on the head, in pulling ears, twisting mouths, tying up a child, and other such forms of treatment. Furthermore, older boys whose depredations may make them annoying to adults may be struck by anyone who catches them in the act, and adults are free in their use of the loose kinship terminology to justify such corporal punishment.

Since parents are not nurturing or idealized figures, physical punishment from them is probably not so acceptable as it might otherwise be. And since corporal punishment may be meted out by any irritated adult who cannot even theoretically claim to be nurturing, it is not to be wondered at that children are resentful and fight back when they are punished.

In addition to corporal punishment, teasing, ridicule, and deception are widely used, not only in disciplining children but also as favorite forms of amusement, especially among young men. I have seen youths in their late teens and early twenties send boys on fool's errands and deceive them with false promises of rewards for services, and then guffaw with laughter when the crestfallen child returned. Fantan the Interpreter one day called to an eight-year-old girl whom we passed on the trail, saying he had just left some honey at her house and she had better hurry home for it. Actually, we had taken some ripe breadfruit to her house but it had been eaten up before we left. On another occasion, a man of about twenty-eight sent a twelve-year-old boy to fetch a bunch of bananas he said he had left at the foot of the village. In return he promised the boy six of them. The boy raced gleefully to the indicated spot but returned saying he had not found them. He was sent off again, and when he returned the second time he realized that he had been deceived. A group of six or seven grown men were sitting about watching the procedure and laughing heartily, to the boy's evident shame and anger.

Under such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that lying is taken as a matter of course in Atimelang. To say "You lie" is considered a statement of fact, not an insult or a reproach. People frequently remark, "He speaks with his mouth, but we do not know what he has in his heart." To speak without regard for accuracy but not necessarily with intent to deceive for one's own advantage is called "talking at random." The most commonplace statements are doubted. When I told friends

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vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the malignancy of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of teasing and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through deception, teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these methods may be linked to another. From them the child learns not only stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely during early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loincloth. At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that "children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation. There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of aggression at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent. Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical punishment from adults (see Lomani's autobiography, page 444). Some youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

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design is first traced on her forehead or cheek and is then pricked in with a thorn dipped in charcoal. The procedure usually draws a number of girls and adult women, all of whom discuss animatedly which of a limited number of simple designs will be used. Often a little girl who has taken no initiative in the matter will be urged by a friend or adult to undergo the operation. Beauty is the only objective.

It is a tradition to insist that the operation does not hurt, and when I asked a girl who had just had the task completed whether it was painful, older women answered before she was able to, assuring me that it was not. On one occasion some older women, by way of teasing the child's grandmother, urged a little girl of seven to let herself be tattooed. The grandmother arrived just in time to prevent the scheme from being carried out. She was very indignant that her grandchild should have been cajoled into it when she was obviously so young. In relation to a discussion of skills and craftsmanship which will come later, it should be stated that the tattooing process is often very crude and usually impermanent, so that traces of designs are rarely distinguishable on the faces of middle-aged women.

GROWING UP FOR BOYS

Whereas girls are tattooed from approximately ten to fourteen, the comparable badge of adulthood for boys, i.e., long hair, does not come until somewhat later, at ages I should estimate from sixteen to eighteen. When boys begin to let their hair grow long, they also begin borrowing or acquiring male accouterments. These are dwelt upon in loving detail in many myths and consist of a sword, a front shield, a back shield, a parrying shield, a bow, a wide belt of woven rattan that serves as a quiver, an areca basket with bells, and the tubular, areca-bark hair cylinder with the accompanying combs and head plumes. Naturally, a young man rarely succeeds in borrowing or acquiring all these articles at first, but he gets as many as he can and struts about in them, often followed by the half-admiring, half-derisive comments of older women and girls. There is a special expression for the type of laughter that women direct toward a young man, which I can translate only by our word *boot*. Its character is as unmistakable as the laughter that accompanies the telling of smutty jokes in our culture. A young man of about twenty himself described in the following words this attitude and the associated courting interests of both boys and girls.

"When a lot of women get together to work in the fields or to fetch water, they talk and talk. When you hear them hoot, that means they are talking about a man. Maybe one girl says she likes a certain man and intends to sleep with him

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intends to sleep with him. When a young man ties up his long hair and walks with bells on his basket, women watch until he has passed by, and then they say, 'Isn't that a fine man!' and begin to hoot. If he wears a big white shawl from the coast, women will say, 'There goes my white chicken!' and then they hoot. The young man feels glad but also a little ashamed. Also, when a young man begins to versify at a dance and his voice rings out clear and strong, the next day the women will say, 'Don't we have a fine man in our village!' and then they will hoot. When there is a dance, the young man will hunt for areca and betel the day before so as to fill up his basket. When he reaches the dance place on the night of the dance, all the young women will crowd around him and hold out their hands for areca. If one woman comes back again and again for more areca, it is a sign that they already want each other, and soon they will go off and make an agreement. Then the girl says he must go find her bride-price."

This comment sets, better than any outsider could, the pattern of masculine vanity, which often persists through life and which is recognized as a male trait. Consistent with this newly developed swagger, other changes occur in young men's lives. In the course of a few months they break away from the irresponsible free-roving play groups of growing boys and become far more solitary and sedentary. They imitate the indolence of older wealthy men. At the same time, they begin to speculate about the possibilities and the means for entering the financial system of the adults and about ways of ingratiating themselves with men of influence who may be of assistance to them. The whole question of entering financial activities will be discussed presently in connection with marriage.

One significant detail concerning food should be noted in connection with the coming of age in boys. The picture so far of the development of masculine vanity and the good-natured teasing that it involves is thoroughly familiar to us. There is another and comparable source of teasing. Boys who are beginning to show open interest in girls and to visit the village of someone they find attractive will be teased by older people with comments like the following, "Padama has gone to visit his wife in Karieta. When boys grow up, the food their mother cooks no longer tastes good. They have to go to the house of a young woman to eat." This kind of teasing makes the younger boys squirm with embarrassment much as it would in our society. A few years later a young man will insist on a midday meal, even if he has to cook it himself, as a symbol of the adult status he is struggling to acquire. The extent to which food and courting ideas can be linked is also exemplified in the follow-

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593 owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then
833 the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

831 It is interesting that Fantan, who gave these anecdotes, on two or
522 three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

835 In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is
582 interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Kolmani's and Malalaka's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kebola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and mokos in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote itself. It would indicate a complete externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but commerce is offended.

835 Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned
[626] upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the
[684] husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended fathe-

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736 158 inept when compared to the shamanism of even such marginal areas as California. In other words, despite local theory, I observed nothing that impressed me as real possessionalism.*

158 787 828 There were also in Atimelang certain individuals who had attacks of hyperactivity. One of these was mentioned in connection with obscenity on page 157. Another case was of a woman who began shouting and joking in a loud and apparently compulsive fashion and sometimes accompanied her conversation with a rhythmic jumping up and down. On occasions of this sort people said that their familiars had risen within them (*betimang homin mirang*). This is the same phrase used in connection with seers. Such attacks usually provoke a good deal of amusement among younger people, but older ones are inclined to discourage any teasing or response that might prolong the attack.

●[522]

158 Again from observation the attacks of hyperexcitability in these two women in no way suggested trance conditions. Accounts of people considered insane, which will be discussed later, gave no indication that they were in trance states. In other words, I very much doubt that deep trances occur except as rare individual aberrations. They are certainly not induced deliberately nor are they culturally prized. It is quite possible that real trances would be associated with the type of "death" that 828 763 was thought to occur in delirium and coma, and such an association may 756 have helped to check the introduction of such trances from other cul- 273 tures. If such is the case, it would also serve to cut down the impressiveness, and therefore the potential power, of seers. Lastly, the danger of losing one's normal personality would seem to offer a possible explanation for the lack of interest shown by Atimelangers in intoxicants. The use of palm wine is known among the coastal peoples, and the requisite palm grows in the mountains; but the mountain peoples do not use it, or even indulge in palm wine during protracted visits to the coast.

158 787 828 It is also interesting that one case of possible suicide, a person who was obviously insane, revolved around this same theme of spirit possession and premature burial. I quote a detailed account for the light it throws on the subject.

The narration referred to an event that occurred about fifteen years ago and began with Fanseni's accidentally offending an evil spirit who lived near his maize field. Some two months later, when the maize was being carried back to his house for storage, signs of abnormality were first noted. Fanseni complained of a violent headache and refused to eat,

* A detailed study of the trance was not made. It is possible, of course, that seers were in a subtrance. By this I mean that conscious control is not lost, but that an emotional condition exists in which the person deliberately shuts out many external stimuli.

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manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in mokos, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

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159 [He wanted to begin with other data I had asked him to collect. When I asked him to begin with his own story there was a very long [124] pause. I felt much resistance this day. Was he punishing me for not accepting his bid of the preceding day for food and nurture?]

When I was small an old man from Kewai, called Maugfani, came to stay with us. He was my father's Male House. He used to sit by the fire and doze. He would fall over and then wake up and say, "*Na laklell.*" ["Indeed, I was dreaming." In local dialect this would be *na la plell.* [122 Such dialectic variations were always cause for much laughter and 197] ridicule.] He was very old and all the time he was there my mother fed him pounded corn. [Question.] He stayed several months and then returned. [Question.] I liked him because I was still small. I called him grandfather.

One time Alomale, Fanlani, Maraima, and Kolfani [all siblings or cousins] were staying with mother and father. I was still small. Alomale and Fanlani went to hunt rats near the Limbur ravine. A rat went down a very steep slope. Alomale followed it and rolled down the slope. He was dead. People carried him to Mainmelang. Many women cried for him. But when he got back to Mainmelang he came to life again.

Fanlani's wife was Tilamau. I was still so small I couldn't talk clearly. Tilamau fondled me and took me to a dance. She danced holding me in her scarf. [Question.] I myself remember this [i.e., it was not hearsay].

When Fanlani died Tilamau wanted Alomale, but Alomale stole three small ears of corn from Lakamobi's garden. Lakamobi took Tilamau as wife to pay the debt, just for three small ears of corn. Now Lakamobi doesn't pay Tilamau's bride-price. He just took her. [Inaccurate.]

One time father, I, and Kolaka's husband, Mailang of Hatoberka, were all at Hatoberka. The three of us went down into the ravine to get [123] crabs. A young spirit bird flew up. Mailang shot and missed. He shot all his arrows. Then father gave him his bird arrow and he hit the bird. When we got back to Hatoberka, Ataboi bought the spirit bird and cooked and pounded corn. We ate. Father got a Vifal moko as the second seller of the bird.

Once we were near Fiyaipe cutting a garden. Three men were sharing the work and the crop. At burning time we went down to the river to hunt for crayfish and eels near the place called Talmang. We drained a pool and got an eel about the size of my wrist. Then we saw another as big as my calf. Fanlaka shot it and jumped into the water after it. We